1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Yezidis MH10

K 585 capture of the bride is simulated, though she is in reality purchased by the presents sent at the time of betrothal. But although Moslems, the Kûrds are K 595 practically monogamists, and divorce, though per- 586 mitted, is very rare among them. Their customary oath, "May I divorce my wife if I," &c., well illustrates their unwillingness to avail themselves of this privilege.

Y 595 The Yezidi sect are, however, polygamists, and, 583 like the Turks, may have three wives. Marriages 586 with near relatives, and also with brothers- or sisters-in-law, are common among them, and no objection is K made to divorce as with the Moslem Kûrds. Their Y 585 weddings are performed by Sheikhs of their own creed, 793 the preliminaries being usually settled by the friends of the contracting parties. The ceremony consists of a mutual public declaration in the presence of the priest, who pronounces a blessing on the couple, and it concludes with the bridegroom's giving to the Sheikh a loaf, and receiving in return one of consecrated bread, which he divides with the bride. It is said that, when pronouncing the marriage oath, the bridegroom stands in running water, signifying that he thus washes away the binding nature of the promise, and consequently renders its breach less sinful. The lower Y grades of the sacerdotal order, the *pîrs* and *kawwals*, [793] perform the marriage ceremony for the common people; but the services of the Sheikh Nâzir, or high priest, are sometimes secured by persons of consequence in the community.

K 764 A Kûrdish funeral, although it forms a striking

and the remainder is converted into ornaments. Inasmuch as the greater number of husbands do not anticipate divorce, a profit realized in business may be presented to their spouses in this form, a matter of some delight for the wife, not solely from the decorative point of view. Only land and precious metal have real and lasting value in the popular mind. A laborer in Rowanduz whose monthly earnings were rarely in excess of four dinars ($11.20) related how his wife's jewelry had been stolen and subsequently recovered, its value estimated at eighty dinars ($224.00), a large sum for a man of this occupation. The jewelry is the property of the wife, and she takes it with her if divorced, and is free to dispose of it as she pleases. If her husband falls into need, she usually sells it to reinstate him or support the family, and may subsidize her son, perhaps in an advantageous marriage, in the same way. The jewelry itself is today a product of the gold and silversmiths of Erbil, and is not greatly different in style from that produced for the lower classes in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and southern Iraq, save that some of the heavy silver ornaments of the Bedouin type, such as anklets, are not in use. In general, chains and bangles of precious metal are made up into more or less complex bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. One of the most expensive items is a collar or necklace of concentric circles of gold chain joined together by flat bangles of various geometric shapes, and another, the gurs or disk used in the woman's headdress, has already been

301 [583]

301 454

[586]

301 [306]

his lifetime, but it is difficult to see, in view of the 423
inexorable character of the civil code reinforced by 426
scripture, how one heir might be completely cut off in
favor of another, and no examples could be elicited. If 428
a man wished to disinherit all his relatives, a doubtful
event, he could do this best by leaving his property to
the Islamic faith, making of it a waqf or pious bequest,
a legacy which is just as hard to get around as the
equality of the claims of sons.

The bulk of the estate, animals, houses, land, 421
tools, or capital, is commonly owned by males, although 562
there is no reason why a woman cannot possess them as well.
Lali Khan, since the death of Isma'il Beg and the imprison-
ment of her closest male relatives, offers a case in
point. Generally speaking, however, the outstanding
property of most women consists of a dowry, jewelry, and
household goods. The dowry (mahr, from Arabic) in the 583
generality of Islamic society, and at Rowanduz, is paid in 421
money by the bridegroom to the father or guardian of the
girl. It consists of two parts, the muqaddam and the
mu'akhar, stipulated in the contract of marriage. The
first, a half or two-thirds of the total amount, is paid
in cash at the time the marriage contract is signed to
the parent of the bride who is responsible for its adminis-
tration. The second part, the remainder of the sum, must [584]
be paid to the woman if she is divorced against her will
or widowed. As might be expected, it is not required for

greed with them and went beyond them in the estimation 583
f her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could 554
realise their demand. One of them was kind enough to
ake me aside and to explain that there was a substantial
ifference between the documentary amount, published to
he townspeople, and that which must actually be paid."
t is perhaps for this reason that the mu'ajjal, the
mount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much
arger proportion of the dowry than the mu'akhar, that which [536] •
ust be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in
art the social fiction and the latter a more realistic
economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions
trongly as an argument against heedless separations, and
en men, having invested a substantial part of their own
r their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake
ivorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use un-
ual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of [301]
recious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, [593]
t the same time, further insurance against divorce or [454]
inancial catastrophe.

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is 582
ecessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, 534
he first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or
arriage between certain relatives is also governed by
he religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence
iscuss anything from contemporary Kurdish society which
ill provide a functional or final explanation of the
pecific determinants of these proscriptions. There is

seems likely that this is only permissable after the 605
e have been engaged to be married. 584

The relations between husband and wife are highly 593
riable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. [183]
asculine theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying
r husband's wishes as though they were commands and ob-
rving the same type of demeanor exhibited to her father.
e husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as
ight his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise,
r there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who
ot, and there appears to be little correspondence to
cial status in situations in which the wife achieves a
inant position over her husband. The status of a bride [851]
thin the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of
r first son, and she may thereafter command much greater
ntion and respect from her husband and relatives by
rriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until [606]
is event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces [586]
e less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The [592]
fe is the mistress of her household and receives money
m the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient
the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a
rtain amount of potential independence. Beyond these
rks it is difficult to go further. A number of
rriages were described in which the women quietly assumed
ost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their
useholds. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of
r father's rank, appears to be much less liable to

initial advance, and he must slap her or draw his knife with 585
a threatening gesture. This done, sometimes seriously, the couple may retire to their bed.

The virginity of a maiden must be attested, and from the white undergarments and bedding the maid who makes up the room in the morning is able to report on her "virtue," for the only test is the blood of the hymen. Occasionally the youth will smear a handkerchief with this blood and present it to his mother. In either case, the mother kisses the girl on the forehead and praises her for her chastity. The stained handkerchief, accompanied by an expensive gift, may be sent to the mother of the girl. If no blood is in evidence, a suspicious husband can return [586] [627] [684]
the girl to her father's house, and her relatives are more or less obligated to kill her. If, however, the youth's father is "pious," he requests his son to pardon the girl and to say nothing. After the bride has remained for seven days, a delegation of women from her father's house escorts her to her old home for a visit of several days. Her husband comes to take her a second time, on this occasion with no ceremony, and exchanges gifts with his father-in-law at this meeting. The feasting and dances which accompany the wedding can endure for a week or more, but most townspeople consider two or three days sufficient. The marriages of the poor are conducted with less ostentation, although relatively high sums may be expended, and those of the Kurdish aristocracy with the greatest display, the slaughter of dozens of animals

: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

nd delegations of guests from all parts of Kurdish Iraq. 585
hen a woman, divorced or widowed, is married a second 587
ime, the festivities are meager compared with those
escribed above, confined to informal banquets for the two
ouseholds concerned.

Divorce, like inheritance and betrothal, is a matter 586
f religious and civil law, and the townspeople and the [671]
urds in general, inasmuch as they seem to follow no customs
hich contravene the code, have nothing to do with these
ormulations. For a man, divorce is a simple proceeding
n Muslim Iraq, for he need only come into the presence of
he judge or the mulla or priest, with two witnesses, and
ubscribe to one of the several formulae, of which the
implest is saying, in Kurdish, to his wife, tallaqum
e dayt (the verb from Arabic tallaqa, "to divorce,"),
I divorce you." According to Islamic prescription, a
usband can divorce his wife twice in this fashion and
ach time take her back, but the third recitation is
bsolutely binding. Only if the woman marries a third [587]
arty and is subsequently divorced by him can she rejoin
er first spouse in another marriage. If a man wishes to
ake the divorce final on the first occasion, he repeats
he formula three times. Of the minor separations, those
f the first or second occasions, there are two types.
n the first of these the woman asks no compensation, and
he divorce admits of easy reunion. In the second, the
oman demands and is paid the mu'akhar, that part of the

ury withheld until this time, and a new contract must 586
signed if the pair are to come together again. In the
jor separation, that of triple divorce, the woman also
ceives the mu'akhar and her personal possessions. A
rtain length of time, the idda, corresponding roughly to
ree menstrual periods, must elapse, and, if the woman [843]
becomes pregnant during it, her former husband is respon- [851]
ble for the maintenance of herself and the child.
ildren usually remain with the mother in divorce, but
eir father may claim them after they have reached a
rtain age. In addition to divorce, a husband may go
the court or the mulla with witnesses, and obtain a
rtificate that his wife has been "refractory," in which
se he is entitled to "put her away." A woman can only [562]
itiate divorce proceedings with difficulty, and is
ually forced to renounce her dowry. She also may ob-
in a certificate of "refractory" behavior for herself
d by this means leave her husband, although the latter,
om perversity, may later refuse to grant her a divorce.
here are, as one might expect, a host of legal subtleties
these cases, and, as an extensive body of Islamic
risprudence deals with them, there is no need to treat
em in detail here.

The principal causes of divorce in Rowanduz are in-
mpatability and barrenness. In the first case, the
adge or mulla and the relatives of the pair attempt to
reconcile them, because, for the relatives, financial trans-
actions of a large scale, sometimes embarressing, usually

follow. The husband or his relatives may be forced to pay the mu'akher, always a considerable sum, and the father of the wife, in addition to having an unmarried woman on his hands, may lose the amounts he included with the dowry in his daughter's wedding. Unofficial separations of varying length are thus as common as divorce, during which the two parties of relatives, or, indeed, one of the couple, try to effect a reunion. Barrenness puts both husband and wife in a more difficult position, for a man's desire for a male heir can easily override his love for his wife, particularly, as often happens, in those matches in which he had little to do with his choice of a spouse. Divorces are far less frequent after the birth of the first boy, and it is perhaps partially for this reason that a young married woman is as desirous of a son as her husband, having recourse to certain popular religious procedures believed to aid in producing a male heir. Most persons cannot afford or will not countenance a second wife if the first is barren, and a divorce follows. Fortunately for the women, the Kurds do not believe that because a woman has been childless in one marriage she will remain so in the next.

586● 842 586 [595]

The life of adults in Rowanduz, once the problems of a career and sex have more or less been solved, has little of the stress encountered in adolescence. Persons of the lower classes, both men and women, must spend the greater part of their waking hours in seeking a livelihood, and the wealthiest townspeople and the Kurdish aristocrats

461 [58].

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Within Islam the contraction of marriage is signalised by two things: the drawing up of a marriage settlement and the wedding festivities.

The drawing up of a marriage settlement is, as Levy points out[97], the main—I am tempted to say the basic—feature of a contracted marriage. According to what my interpreter told me, a marriage settlement drawn up by Kurds in the urban milieu of Sulaimani demands the presence of four male members of the bride's family, the most important of whom is the bride's guardian, as a rule her father. Four male members of the prospective bridegroom's family, that is to say the groom and three others, must also be present. There is also a *mulla* and the *qāḍī* by whom the marriage settlement is drawn up[98]. My interpreter informed me that the prospective bride might also be present, though closely-veiled and in a somewhat passive role. Whereas the bridegroom thus has no opportunity of seeing the bride until the marriage is consummated, the bride apparently is afforded a chance of seeing her future husband. I was also told that on this occasion she is asked whether she agrees and that it is then open to her to refuse to go on with the marriage, her father being unable to force her. According to the *shafi'i* rite the bride must agree to the marriage[99]. The marriage settlement is not concluded between the bride and bridegroom, but between the bride's *wali* and the bridegroom with the others present as witnesses[100]. The bridegroom agrees to pay the bride price, its size is finally fixed, and with it the decisive point: how great a part of it is to be immediately available, before the wedding, and how much is to be held back for payment in the event of a divorce, that is to say if a man repudiates his wife (a right not shared by the latter), or in case of the husband's demise. When my interpreter's sister contracted marriage, I was told that the sum set aside for the contingency of divorce or widowhood was not, as normally[101], a half or a third, but if I understood aright—nearly four times the sum paid out, 1500 Din. – £1500. The paid up part of the bride price was 400 Din. – £400. This large sum my interpreter's family demanded guaranteed to assure the sister's marital position and to prevent any repudiation in the event of another wife[102]. I cannot say whether the sum was made larger than in fact it was in order to add prestige to the family's economic reputation.

With the drawing up of the marriage settlement the man, in addition to paying out the bride price, undertakes to support his wife, give her food, clothes, and attendance commensurate with the standard obtaining in her family home[103]. A breach of this marriage settlement gives the wife grounds for divorce. The other possibility a woman has to obtain divorce is the re-payment of the bride price. Apart from these instances the right to dissolve marriage lies with the man, who utters three times the word *talāq*, "I repudiate thee", or better, in Juynboll's[104] translation: "I renounce all rights over thee", as in some cases when drawing up the marriage settlement certain clauses, *ta'liq*, can be inserted or attached so that definite lapses or positive actions on his part nullify his rights over the wife, thus providing her with one more possibility to obtain a divorce. On contracting marriage the wife undertakes to bear the husband children who belong to the husband, also in the event of divorce. Here it is true, the woman takes the children with her so long as they are quite small, but is obliged to send them back to the father's home when the boys are six and the girls eight years old.

As mentioned, the drawing up of the marriage settlement takes place at the *qāḍī*, the judge. (It was stated that in the villages only the local *mulla* was necessary). This has caused Ebersp[105] to declare that the drawing up of a marriage settlement is a civil act, advancing as proof of this assertion that

831 684 the bride was punished for not having guarded the honour of the family—not by her injured husband, but by men of her own family—she would be taken to be examined by the woman gynaecologist to discover whether the lacking proofs of virginity were due to some physical irregularity. It was stated that the metre of white cotton material that comprised the actual, detachable, bridal sheet would be kept by the bride's family for a year as proof for the bride's in-laws if any doubt should be raised about the bride's honour. "About a year" means to about the birth of the first child. After that the bride sheet would be washed and included in the household linen.

585 831 In view of the very definite modesty prevalent among Kurds, and the aversion to any display of nakedness, the lack of modesty when it is a matter of first mating is quite unusually surprising. It is a public affair and must therefore be extremely embarrassing for the young woman; equally painful must it be for the young man who is expected immediately to consummate the marriage and then, his garments adjusted, to leave the field to the waiting woman, who roughly dries the bride's genital opening in order to obtain as clear a trace on the sheet as possible. I heard of no case where a named bride had been killed on her wedding morning.

183 562 684 831 Hay[134] states that with the Kurds the law is very strict as regards the honour of women, but it seems to be the honour of married women that is concerned when he says that "a woman ... who misconducts herself, or, who is suspected on reasonable grounds of misconducting herself, must surely die; and the husband, brother or whoever is responsible for her, who fails to put her out of the way, is considered to have lost his honour, and a Kurd's *nâmûs* or honour is one of his most precious possessions". From what I was told it is only the young, unmarried girls whose honour is guarded by such drastic measures.

In regard to the bridal sheet custom, Nikitine[135] says that is was falling into desuetude as early as 1922, remarking that it is "à son déclin, une coutume consistant à mettre sur le lit des nouveaux mariés un linge blanc ("yyslik"), qu'on renvoie ensuite aux parents de la jeune femme, comme preuve de sa virginité".

585 831 191 The use of the bridal sheet with the Iranian Lurs is mentioned by Feilberg[136]. That the Arabs kill a young woman who does not pass the test, and that this is done by her own male relatives, is referred to by Dickson[137], though he adds that he has heard of one case where "... the man being chivalrous enough to smuggle into the bridal chamber a fresh piece of meat with blood on it, with which to soil the bed linen ...". To this can be put Niebuhr's information about the Arabs as long ago as 1703: that it is seldom that the unfortunate bride suffers, "denn sie wissen Künste"[138].

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595 *Polygamy and divorce.* According to the Quran, provided a man's economic position allows it he may have up to four wives at a time[139], but is obliged to treat them alike and spend an equal amount of time, day and night, with each of them[140].

586 587 The husband has sole right to an immediate dissolution of the marriage by pronouncing *talâq*: "I renounce thee" or, better: "I abandon all right over thee". Until the expiration of the 'idda-period[141] the wife cannot contract a new marriage, and during this term she is entitled to maintenance[142]. By *talâq* a man can twice divorce himself from his wife but, should he regret his act, can without further

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

ceremony make her his wife again within the above-mentioned period[163]. Should he have pronounced *talāq* three times or have stated it thrice on the first occasion, the wife must contract a pro forma marriage with another man and must be renounced by this "straw husband" before the husband can take her back[164]. The Coran forbids the promise of abstinence, or if you will, a semi-divorce within marriage, that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's", known as *ẓihār* (*ẓahr* = back)[165]. In this case the wife will not obtain the right to return to her family home with everything she brought into the marriage, plus what she may herself have earned and that part of the bride price (usually one third) that has been put aside for such a contingency, and with a view to facilitating a new marriage.

On her side the wife has the following possibilities of securing the dissolution of the marriage: The marriage contract can contain a clause to the effect that neglect on the part of the husband gives the wife the right to regard the marriage as dissolved, by repaying the bride price, if she can prove before a judge that the man does not fulfil his obligations in regard to maintaining her in accordance with her station; in cases of certain illnesses or if it should transpire that he is of poorer birth than stated.

On contracting marriage the husband undertakes to provide for the wife; she in return engages to present him with children, which means that the children born belong to the man's home. If the marriage is dissolved whilst the children are small, the wife takes with her male children under two years of age[166], girls under nine (or up to puberty), whereafter they return to the husband's home. On marriage, therefore, the woman runs the risk of being renounced (attempts being made to reduce this by the fixing of a high bride price, and particularly by making as high as possible that part of it set aside for possible later payment); she also runs the risk of sharing the man with another wife or more. The husband runs a risk that the wife the women of his family have selected for him, whom in most cases he has never seen, is impossible to live with. To meet this contingency he has the immediate right to divorce her and also the right to take other wives.

Having briefly recounted the ordinary rules of Islam within the *shāfi'i* rite to which the Kurds belong, I shall now attempt to recount what I experienced during my relatively short stay in Southern Kurdistan in order to throw light on matters concerning divorce and polygamy. I take these two phenomena together for, as will appear below, they are interwoven, and the one is often the reason for the other.

At the time I was able to study the conditions, there was in each of the three or four homes of the village aristocracy that constitute my material for comparison, only one wife. This happened to be so in the case of the sheikh families in Topzawa, Bergalo, Shadala and Serkan. Soane[167] states that the Kurds from north to south are monogamous, an assertion repeated by his wife[168]. This does not quite accord with my experience. In Topzawa the current wife had five children aged 18, 17, 13, 8 and 6. In the home there was also a step-daughter of 12. As illegitimate children are unknown in the Kurdish pattern of life, the sheikh, within a period lying between 1938 and 1945, has had two wives for a shorter or longer period, and the one who only presented him with one child was sent home to her parents.

The sister of the present one, about 35 years of age, was married to an old sheikh in Shadala. There appears here to have been a succession of marriages. Several groups of married sons with wives and

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

565 595 children living in the home showed that there must have been other wives. The sheikh himself stated that in his long life he had been married nineteen times! This can be compared with a statement by Hay[169] about "Old Ibrahim, Agha of the Dizay", who, 70 years old, had had nineteen wives. So far as I could discover the position was the same as that reported by Lane[170]: "Hence it often happens that, when a man who has already one wife wishes to marry another girl or woman, the father of the latter, or the female herself who is sought in marriage, will not consent to the union unless the first wife be previously divorced". But even if the man divorces his current wife to conform to the wishes of his new wife or her family, the children remain in the paternal home, which, when they marry, the sons extend to a joint family household.

[584]

587 595 Two half-grown 13–14 year old step-daughters with the sheikh of Sargalu marked the existence of an earlier marriage, as did the presence at home of three married sons of the sheikh in Serkan. Of this family it was said that not only the sheikh but also his wife had been married before, she being the widow of his brother—thus a case of levirate marriage. Among the village aristocracy I thus was able to determine divorces, successions of marriages, and children of former marriages remaining in the home, but in this milieu I did not meet several wives simultaneously in the home.

595 369 In the humble village milieu it seemed that monogamy was the more usual, probably for economic reasons. On the other hand I met here two cases of women who, taking with them their small children—a boy of 2 and a girl of 4 in Topzawa, and a male baby and girl of 5, both of whom later died, in Serkan—had left their husbands who had failed in their obligations in regard to maintaining them. They had been taken on as domestic help[171] at the sheikh's homes in Topzawa and Serkan. Thus the women had not returned to their families. A repudiated wife with a boy of about 2 in the humble village milieu in Balkha was said to live with and be supported by her family.

595 In the educated urban milieu I met a newly-married teacher couple (seen each other before marriage), and a teacher couple with two children (never seen each other before marriage). The latter were monogamous, as was the case with the former, and a very high sum was stated to be put aside for the young woman in the event of divorce (or widowhood).

[584]

595 565 [463] There remain conditions in what is called the uneducated urban milieu or, if one prefers it, the old-fashioned urban milieu which still retains its original structure devoid of Western influence. The milieu of this kind that I learned to know possessed a good economic basis and was represented by small traders in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who acted as agents for Baghdad firms dealing in electrical articles, bycyles and spare parts for automobiles. From the point of view of trade they represented the new times, but the structure of their homes evinced the old. Here I met polygamy functioning and could observe its effects on daily life, in the arrangement of the home, the distribution of the man's interest in regard to the wives, relations with the other's children, and the distribution of work within the women's world of the home. There were only two wives. One thing is the permission given by the Koran to possess up to four wives simultaneously, another thing is practice—which presupposes—when these four are augmented by female slaves, also permitted by the Koran—both unlimited wealth and unlimited room, and was consequently very definitely an upper class phenomenon, reserved to

[611] [582]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

595 a hand with the housework, look after her future children, and keep her company when the husband,
565 as is the custom in Islamic areas, spent a large part of the day in company with other men. This arrangement, I was told, was purely due to practical considerations. The presence of the second, younger wife in the home in Sulaimani with her nine children (one, a daughter, was married), who with the three adult children of the elder wife, plus the husband, brought the size of the family up to 14. All the girls over a certain age had, as opposed to their mothers, gone over to an educated milieu away from the home, and left behind a colossal burden of work, particularly in the winter, in the form of cooking, baking, washing, etc., for the two wives at home. This burden was equally divided between the two wives, which was too much for the elder. By moving out to the village with her newly-married daughter she would obtain a far easier life. In the home in Sulaimani it was apparently not possible for the one wife to leave an undue amount of work to the other; on the contrary they appeared to share it all loyally. The one making tea made it for the whole family, the one cooking or washing clothes did the same. Similarly, the two wives certainly seemed to share the daily work in the house, and their children showed equal affection for both mother and stepmother.

595 In this case, then, the husband had seen in a village a beautiful, stronglimbed girl with whom, to
586 use a European term, he fell in love; showing due consideration for his first wife he had made her his second. The divorce here was due to the fact that the two women could not agree.

A young wife with two quite small children, who was returned to her family by the husband, was quoted as an example of incompatibility of temperaments. The husband was much older and very wealthy, but, it was said, incredibly miserly, and the wife refused to submit to this. Before I left I heard that the man had regretted his repudiation which apparently had not been triple and final. He now wanted her to return before the expiration of her 'idde-period.

A man of my interpreter's family, a half-brother of her stepmother, was married to a woman of about 25, who since she was married to him (at the age of 11), had borne him four daughters, two of whom (7 and 2) had survived. As all the children had been female, and under pressure from friends and neighbours, he was seeking a second wife who would, he hoped, be able to bear him sons. Three times marriage negotiations had been initiated on his behalf but for various reasons had broken down. The man was now at the end of the thirties. His wife appeared to be reduced to despair by the situation; and it would be difficult for the new wife to cooperate with her; furthermore she faced the prospect of the new woman demanding her divorce before consenting to matrimony, or that, cooperation failing between the two wives, she would later be cast out.

595 To sum up: Polygamy exists among Kurds in the uneducated urban milieu, but the number of
565 wives does not exceed two. Successive marriages, with children of earlier marriages as members of
369 the family, exist among the village aristocracy. Monogamy prevailed in the humble village milieu, perhaps mainly for economic reasons. Monogamy also prevailed in the educated urban milieu.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 593 sufficient to ensure an harmonious life together, particularly because the culture pattern more or less separated the couple during the day. The young woman was thus faced with demands she was able to fulfil, highly-valued beforehand, with a prospect of a gain if greater sympathy or love was born between herself and her mate. She was but little subjected to comparison with other women, for in his outside life the husband never met them; the wives of his friends he never saw. In the home he met only those with whom marriage was out of the question. The threats to her marriage were thus not the chances that at his place of work or in society her husband met and fell in love with another woman, but were far more logically justified. If life together proved impossible, both husband and wife could secure the dissolution of the marriage (see p. 121). Should she bear no children, or no sons, [586] an extra wife was justified. This might mean that the family of the other wife stipulated that the first wife should be renounced, or that the two women could not tolerate daily life together. By the stipulation of a large sum to be set aside for the contingency of divorce, the wife's family assured the bride beforehand as adequately as was humanly possible.

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584 The man, on the other hand, gave everything he owned at the time, perhaps assisted by his family, for a woman who was certainly to the taste of his female relatives, but not necessarily to his. Should he not like his bride after the marriage had taken place, he had in the first place invested a lot of money in this disappointment, and secondly had to maintain his case against the women of his family, who had selected her. A new wife of the four sanctioned by the Coran, depending upon one's economic circumstances, was another unknown ticket in the marriage lottery.

593 562 [586] From the moment a man passed from the unmarried to the married state, he was for the rest of his life the head of a family. As the bride price was paid when marriage was contracted, the husband had not only the right but also the duty to keep the children[42] in the event of divorce. Quite small children, it is true, stayed with the mother until they had reached a certain age, but then returned to the father. In the event of a fresh marriage a man thus had no chance of leaving his children. The new wife, or [587] wives, who entered his home took over the work of looking after the brood of children that might already be there. This provided the children with a stable home and childhood, something that is not always the case in the West. The constant factors in the home were thus, theoretically, the father and the children, whilst the mother was the fluctuating point. This gave father, mother and children a mutual status quite different from the position of these three home elements in our culture.

Considerable attention has been paid to the difficulties that could arise between women when one more of the four wives sanctioned by religion was acquired. Little attention has been paid, on the other hand, to the difficulties facing the new wife when the home she entered had adolescent or adult 562 children. Nor has much consideration been given to the possibility that the stationary children, whom 586 the father is unable to marry off, may intervene in favour of their mother after she has been repudiated 593 by the father. My interpreter's mother, for example, was repudiated and sent back to her family, leaving behind her three children aged about 6, 7 and 8 (see p. 137). When these children reached the age of discretion, they demanded the return of their mother, and the father was forced to give way.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
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277 442 effect of greatly reducing the ultimate return for the producer. Thus a cultivator who sold his crop for a cash advance at the time of sowing would only get about 60% of the market value of his ultimate crop. Merchants would pay substantial gifts - either in cash or kind - to the Agha for the right to trade and in return the Agha would in effect guarantee the contract. Thus if an individual cultivator failed to meet his contract the Agha could force him to sell his personal goods to meet the bond, though for reasons of kinship it seems likely that the Agha would in many cases prefer to meet the liability himself.

Marketing procedure 3. Detailed enquiries in Walash revealed that the tobacco surplus for that village is fairly small and is disposed of either through individual tobacco dealers operating from Erbil or else through the ordinary star; terms of trade are for cash only, and there is no system of advances. From Dergala, where the tobacco cultivation is much more extensive, I unfortunately obtained no information concerning marketing methods.

Having dealt with the various individual contacts between members of the village and those outside it, there remain for examination those forms of exchange within the group itself which have an essentially social rather than an economic basis. Owing to lack of empirical data I can do little more than point out what are the principal occasions for these exchanges.

583 [564] Marriage. A bride price is payable by the bridegroom to the bride's father. I was told that if the wife ran away or otherwise misbehaved herself the husband could claim back part of the bride price, but the information was not specific. * In the event of a divorce the husband is responsible for the maintenance of his former wife at any rate during her pregnancy and frequently longer. It is difficult to obtain reliable figures concerning the amount of bride price paid. May quotes the figure of £500 for a wealthy Agha. There is a natural tendency to exaggerate the figures both as flattery for the lady and to create an air of affluence about the informant. When I pointed out that in the case of the marriage of ortho-cousins living as close neighbours in the same village the payment of bride price, whatever its amount, could be little more than a nominal transaction, this was admitted; nevertheless, it was argued, every girl's self

* May (p. 44) says the husband is responsible only for three months after divorce or during pregnancy whichever is the longer and this is good Mohammedan law. According to my interpreter important Aghas wishing to increase the number of their household will sometimes divorce one of their wives merely in order to marry a fifth; in such a case the divorced wife would remain a member of the Agha's household indefinitely, though whether her position would be that of concubine was not made clear. The situation however is hypothetical as I obtained no concrete examples.